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BULLETIN OF THE MILWAUKEE
BUREAU OF ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY

NO. 17

RECREATION SURVEY

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
MARCH 31, 1912

MILWAUKEE

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Created by Common Council
For the Investigation of Departmental Accounts and Methods.
Resolution Adopted June 14, 1910.

BULLETIN NO. 17

RECREATION SURVEY

BY

ROWLAND HAYNES

Field Secretary of the
Playground and Recreation Association
of America

REPORT MADE FOR THE
BOARD OF SCHOOL DIRECTORS
AND THE
CHILD WELFARE COMMISSION

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

March 31, 1912

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SCOPE OF REPORT

The task assigned in the invitation given by the Child Welfare Commission covered two main topics: first, the gathering of a certain amount of information relative to recreation conditions in Milwaukee; second, the formation of some comprehensive plan whereby the various city departments whose work touches the recreational life of the community might together secure the most efficient results. The commission for this survey made by the representatives of the Board of School Directors called for information on two main topics: first, on what the children and young people of Milwaukee were actually doing for recreation, with an account of the facilities furnished in the way of out-of-door space for play, and of commercial and other amusements; second, on the facilities under the control of the Board of School Directors and their adaptability for wider use for recreation purposes outside of school hours. This report combines the reports submitted to these two boards and omits certain details in the discussion of the use of certain parts of the school plant for recreation purposes contained in the manuscript report to the Board of School Directors.

PART I—FINDINGS

DENSITY OF POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNGER ELEMENT IN DIFFERENT WARDS

**Density of
Population**

Preparatory to the survey of the outdoor play space in different parts of the city, a study was made of the density of population and of the proportion of children and young people to the total population in the different wards. Table I shows the density for each ward based on the population as given by the 1910 census and on ward areas given by the City Engineer's office. From this table it is seen that the average number of people per acre for the entire city is 23.9 and that Wards 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 15 were from 2 to 35 persons per acre above the city average.

TABLE I.
DENSITY OF POPULATION PER ACRE—MILWAUKEE, 1910.

Ward	Area Acres	Population 1910	Population per acre	Amt. per acre above or below city aver- age of 23.9 per acre.
1....	290.26	9,709	33.4	9.5 +
2....	239.73	10,023	41.8	17.9 +
3....	236.11	6,252	26.4	2.5 +
4....	354.21	10,502	29.6	5.7 +
5....	532.34	10,163	19.0	4.9—
6....	498.51	14,002	28.0	4.1 +
7....	261.02	7,566	29.0	5.1 +
8....	552.24	11,251	20.3	3.6—
9....	313.39	18,472	58.9	35.0 +
10....	396.56	19,033	48.0	24.1 +
11....	1,038.38	30,163	29.0	5.1 +
12....	723.03	13,528	18.7	5.2 +
13....	528.63	20,318	38.4	14.5 +
14....	867.54	32,542	37.5	13.6 +
15....	574.79	17,233	29.9	6.0 +
16....	682.92	14,507	21.2	2.7—
17....	1,076.89	15,523	14.4	9.5—
18....	1,512.90	19,602	12.9	11.0—
19....	651.13	14,220	21.8	2.1—
20....	1,360.60	26,885	19.7	4.2—
21....	929.85	21,074	22.6	1.3—
22....	1,099.83	19,078	17.3	6.6—
23....	712.00	12,211	17.1	6.8—
Total	15,222.86	373,857		

Note: Ward lines are those in force in 1910.

The table is deceptive in regard to Ward 3. The density appears only slightly above the city average, but when it is remembered that this ward is taken up largely with buildings other than residences and that a large proportion of the population, probably at least two-thirds, is crowded into the sixteen blocks bounded by Michigan, Milwaukee and Erie Streets and the railroad tracks, the density in that section which is used for residence purposes is found to be 59.1 per acre, or 35.2 above the average for the city.

**Distribution
Youthful
Population**

The density gives a hint of where there is the least space for outdoor recreation, but the kind of recreation which will appeal depends largely on the ages of the people.

Thus it is found that there are certain wards where the density is high but the percentage of children and young people is low, and the immediate demand for outdoor recreation is less than that for other forms. Table II, based on the school census of 1911, shows what per cent of the population of each ward is between 4 and 19 years. From this table it is apparent that the wards where the largest percentage of children and young people live are Wards 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22. Ward 3 appearing on account of special conditions already noted. These wards are those near or much above the city average of 31% of the population between 4 and 19 years of age.

When these two tables are compared it is found that Wards 10, 11, 13 and 14, are above the average of the city both in density of population and in the percentage of young people to the population of those wards. Ward 9 has a very high density, the highest of any in the city, and also a percentage of children and young people within one point of the average for the city. Ward 3 is high in density when the amount of space devoted to homes or free for non-commercial uses is considered.

OUTDOOR PLAY SPACES

Since time and facilities were lacking for covering the entire city in this investigation, certain neighborhoods were selected for intensive study. These districts called "soundings,"

were chosen from three of the wards where density and percentage of children were both high. Each "sounding" corresponded to a district of the school census of June, 1911, from which was learned the number of children and young people of different ages in the selected districts. Each district was carefully surveyed to learn the amount of available public and private play space; to learn how much private space was occupied by gardens, lawns, storage and yards, and thus not available for play; to learn how much private space was cut up into lots too small for play use; to learn the number and condition of the streets and alleys and their safety or danger on account of traffic use. Table III gives the results of these studies.

In explanation of the table a word should be said as to how the figure 300 is arrived at as the number children who can play on an acre. Thirty square feet per child, which was the minimum set down by the London School Board, allows only about room enough for a child to stand and swing his arms about. For active games and genuine play much more space is needed. One hundred and twenty children per acre can play basket ball, and 200 children per acre can play indoor baseball. If these are accepted as typically active games requiring a small amount of space, and the chinks not occupied by these games are filled in with ring games, which occupy less space, the above figure is arrived at. Experience has shown that 300 per acre is a high saturation point for play space. With more than that some of the children must stand around, crowded out of a chance to join in the fun. On the same basis, in the table 25x25 feet is taken as the smallest interspace usable for play, since this is the smallest space four or five children can play upon together for any considerable time.

In this table the most noticeable facts are: first, the small amount of public and private play space aside from streets and alleys, this play space varying from less than one per cent to 4.7 per cent of the total area of the districts; second, the large number of the children from 4 to 15 years of age who

**Number of Playing
Children per Acre.**

**Number of Children
Who Must Play
in Streets**

must play in the streets and alleys, or go out of their home neighborhood for play, or not play at all, this number varying from 49 to 84 per cent of total number of children in the given districts; third, the large amount of space taken up by streets and alleys, a little over one-third of the total area of each district; and fourth, the large amount of this street and alley space not used by heavy and fairly continuous traffic but only by delivery traffic, such intermittently used street and alley space varying from 69 to 89 per cent of total street and alley space.

**Leadership Needed
to Use Space
Available**

Sounding 3 in Ward 14 contains a good school yard and several vacant lots, while directly across its northern boundary is the playground in Kosciusko Park. One Saturday morning this district was gone over to learn where the children were playing. Four hundred and fifty-nine children were seen who were not working, but none of these were in the school yard, and none of them were in the park playground. Thirty-eight were in the vacant lots, fifty-five were in private yards, and the remainder seen, or 366, were in the street, some playing, but most of them doing nothing. With proper play leadership the school yard, which offers a good space, and the park playground, which is fitted up for smaller children, and certain parts of the vacant lots, could be used up to the limit of their capacity.

THEATRES AND MOVING PICTURE SHOWS

Since out-of-door play occupies the time of only a part of the young people, chiefly those under 15 years of age, and since it occupies the chief time of that part for only certain of the more open weather months of the year, it is necessary to look into certain much patronized indoor amusements, chief among which are the theaters and moving picture shows. These places of amusement are of two main classes, neighborhood houses which draw chiefly from districts nearby, and down town houses which draw from all over the city. Table IV shows the geographical distribution of the neighborhood theaters, and classifies all the theaters according to type of performance usually presented.

TABLE IV.
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION THEATERS AND MOVING PICTURE
SHOWS.

	Neighborhood Theaters				Total
	South Side	W. & North Sides	East Side	Down Town	
Moving picture houses.....	11	31	1	7	50
Vaudeville theaters	1	1	0	3	5
Melodrama theaters	1	0	0	1	2
Burlesque theaters	0	0	0	2	2
Drama ("legitimate") theaters.	0	0	0	3	3
Total.....					62

Table V shows the estimated weekly attendance at different kinds of theaters. These figures are estimates and not guesses. In the case of houses other than moving picture shows the capacity was learned from the Building Inspector. The theaters were visited at different hours during the week and percentage of capacity in attendance noted. From the capacity and from the number of times per week the houses were filled the average weekly attendance was computed.

The capacity of the moving picture houses was found as follows:

Known capacity of the 7 downtown moving picture houses (from Building Inspector).....	5,930
Known capacity of 25 "neighborhood" moving picture houses (from Building Inspector).....	11,135
Estimated capacity of the remaining 18 of the 43 "neighborhood" moving picture houses, computed on the basis of the average capacity of the 25 given above.....	8,010

Total capacity of moving picture houses in the city.....25,075

In order to learn the weekly attendance at moving picture shows, the average weekly attendance as given by the managers of 14 of the 43 neighborhood houses of this class was taken. In each case this average weekly attendance was compared with the capacity of the given house, and was found to vary from 4.3 times the capacity up to 14 times the capacity, averaging 8.4 times the capacity each week. Any one who has visited this class of performance in various parts of the city and at various hours will be convinced that this is a

conservative figure. A continuous performance is given and the audience shifts wholly or in part several times each evening, with extra large attendance on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and evenings. One careful computation reaches the figure of 11 times the capacity per week as an average. Since it is the purpose of this report to err, if at all, on the side of under statement rather than on the side of exaggeration, the smaller figure of 8.4 has been taken. The total capacity of moving picture houses in the city multiplied by this figure gives a total average attendance per week at this class of houses of 210,630. The reports of what several hundred school children do in their spare time, which are summarized in later paragraphs of this report, show that many of them attend from 1 to 5 shows of this kind per week, and the attendance figure of 210,630 does not seem at all exaggerated.

TABLE V.
AVERAGE WEEKLY ATTENDANCE AT MILWAUKEE SHOW HOUSES.

Kind of Theater.	Total Capacity.	Performances per Week.	Average Weekly Attendance.	Percentage Show Going Public Reached
Moving picture houses.....	25,075	Continuous	210,630	60.2
Vaudeville theaters	6,523	14 to 22	75,432	21.6
Melodrama theaters.....	3,029	9	17,565	5.0
Burlesque theaters.....	2,682	14	24,138	6.9
Drama ("legitimate") theaters.	4,923	4 to 9	21,908	6.3
Total.....	42,232		349,673	100.

**Most Popular
Type of
Performance**

It is important to note the distribution of attendance at different types of performance. Of the 349,673 people who attend each week in Milwaukee 60% are going to moving picture shows and 21% to the vaudeville performances. In other words four-fifths of the show going public patronize these forms of entertainment.

**Saturday and
Sunday Evening
Crowds**

It is particularly suggestive to visit these places of amusement on Saturday or Sunday evening, when after the week's work is over, large numbers take their recreation in

this way. Between 8 and 9 o'clock on either Saturday or Sunday evening all the theaters are open, vaudeville houses are in the middle of their first evening performance, and the moving picture shows are getting the largest percentage of their attendance. At this hour it is safe to say that at least 37,875 are in attendance at some performance of this kind at one time. This emphasizes two things: first, the popular hour for social entertainment; and second, the very considerable part played in the recreation life of the city by this type of amusement.

**Ages of
Audiences**

Observations were taken of the proportion of people of different ages at the different kinds of performances, and are summarized in Table VI. It will be observed that in all forms of entertainment specially studied, with the exception of the burlesque performances in the evening, by far the largest percentage of attendants are between the ages of 15 and 25 years, varying from half the audience in some cases up to more than three-quarters of the audience in others. There are in Milwaukee about 80,000 young people between the ages of 15 and 25 years, or a little over 21% of the population. This 21% of the population evidently furnishes, therefore, over 50% of the attendance at various forms of theatrical entertainment.

TABLE VI.
AGE OF AUDIENCES AT DIFFERENT KINDS OF THEATERS.

	Under 15 Years.	15 to 25 Years.	Over 25 Years.
Moving picture houses, Sunday afternoon and evening audiences	40%	48%	12%
Moving picture houses, other evenings	14%	52%	34%
Vaudeville, evening performances	5%	63%	32%
Burlesque, evening performances	0%	40%	60%
Burlesque, afternoon performances	0%	95%	5%
Neighborhood melodrama, Sunday evenings	8%	76%	16%

One is impressed with the strong advantage possessed by the moving picture houses, in that they are bringing back to the people a form of family amusement. On account of the cheapness of admission the whole family can go together, and

whole families are frequently seen at these places, especially at Sunday afternoon and evening performances. From 1 to 5 per cent of the attendance is frequently children under 5 years of age, who have been brought by their parents or older brothers and sisters. Milwaukee moving picture houses are superior to those of most cities at present in the lighting of the audience halls, an important safeguard to the morals of those who attend.

DANCING ACADEMIES AND DANCE HALLS

Dancing places of Milwaukee may be divided into two main classes, dancing academies and dance halls. The dancing academies conduct what they call "socials" in addition to their regular classes and have dancing from 1 to 7 evenings per week. No liquor is sold and the dancing occupies the chief part of the program. Dance halls in turn may be divided into two classes: first, halls rented by some club; second, halls or rooms connected with saloons, where the dance is directly or indirectly in charge of the proprietor of the saloon.

Dancing Academies

The attendance at the dancing academies on a typical evening in the month of November, 1911, was about 3,250, running over rather than under that figure. Their hour of closing is about midnight, not running over that hour very much. The ages of those attending dancing academies vary chiefly between the years of 16 and 25. It is not supposed that any girl under 16 shall be present, and from observation it seems that the police are genuinely trying to enforce this regulation. It is hard, however, when some of the young people falsify their ages, for a police officer who is a stranger to them to prove that they are not giving the correct age.

Dance Halls

Through the assistance of the Police Department a census of the attendance at dance halls was taken on Saturday and Sunday evenings, Nov. 11 and 12, 1911. Four thousand six hundred and seventy-six were listed as dancing in these halls on Saturday evening, November 11. As many more were watching the dancing or joining in the social life in the buffets between

dancing, making a total attendance of somewhat over 9,300. The hours varied from 8 P. M. to 1 A. M., in certain cases, and from 8 P. M. to 4 or 5 A. M. in others. Sunday evening, November 12, 1911, 1,905 people were listed as dancing in such dance halls, with from 1,700 to 2,000 more in attendance. The hours were shorter than on Saturday evenings, most of the dances closing by 12 o'clock Sunday night. The ages of those in attendance varied from 18 years up to 60. The older persons were in attendance chiefly at certain dances which were really family or neighborhood gatherings, rather than typical dance hall crowds. Two-thirds of those in attendance were between 18 and 25 years of age.

**Quality of
Recreation
Furnished**

The quality of amusement furnished varies greatly. Some of the smaller dancing academies furnish a very high order of entertainment, give their patrons real social training, insist on propriety on the part of all who attend, and through having the same patrons over and over again, come to furnish a real supervision. As much cannot be said of one or two of the large academies where whatever may be the intentions of the management, the number and floating character of the patrons makes very little supervision possible.

As a class the dancing academies furnish a much higher form of recreation than that given at any of the dance halls, where there is less time for dancing, each dance occupying about five minutes and the intermissions for refreshments occupying from ten to twenty minutes, and where the hours are also later. A careful distinction should be made between different types of dances in dance halls. A majority of them appeal chiefly to the younger people, are conducted by the young people themselves, and have practically no supervision or chaperonage by older persons. These should be carefully marked from certain family gatherings where children of five go with their parents and many married couples are present with the younger people. These neighborhood social gatherings are of high order in furnishing fun and in the developing of a wholesome neighborhood feeling. The fact that they are held in a hall or room where liquor is sold is simply an incident.

Summary

In November, 1911, 12,000 or 13,000 was the average number of people in attendance at dancing places, both academies and dance halls, on each Saturday evening. This was before the height of the season when there is a larger attendance. Of each Saturday night crowd in November, 1911, 8,000 or 9,000 were between 18 and 25 years of age, or about 14% of the entire number of young people in Milwaukee between those ages. Of this 8,000 or 9,000 about 1,000 were in good surroundings in carefully supervised dancing academies and in family gatherings in halls where older people of the neighborhood were in attendance. About 2,500 were in surroundings where there is little oversight. The remaining 4,000 to 5,000 were in surroundings which make for coarseness, if nothing worse is said of them. Some of these latter named places are distinctly vicious.

It should also be remembered that all these dancing places, even the worst of them, are better than dances at road-houses in the outskirts of the city where many would go if these halls in the city were closed and nothing better substituted. At these road-houses the young women who attend are in the power of those with whom they go, while even in the worst dance halls in the city it is possible, in spite of many temptations to the contrary, for such young people to keep straight and get home at a reasonable hour.

POOL, BILLIARDS AND BOWLING

No careful study was made of these forms of amusement, but Table VII was compiled from the City Clerk's record of licenses issued. Only a small fraction of the pool tables are in regular pool and billiard parlors devoted chiefly to those games. The majority are single tables scattered in a little over 800 saloons, and furnish an adjunct to that neighborhood place of amusement.

TABLE VII.
POOL, BILLIARDS AND BOWLING.

Pool places	842
Pool tables	1,100
Billiard places	24
Billiard tables	61
Bowling places	91
Bowling alleys	271

ACTIVITIES OF MILWAUKEE CHILDREN

Observation While surveying the amount of outdoor play space described in an earlier section of this report observations were made of what the children out-of-doors were doing. Table VIII shows results for the soundings, boundaries of which are given in Table III. Observations were made outside of school hours. Those who were listed as working were chiefly going on errands, sawing wood, sweeping the sidewalk, and doing similar tasks. Playing was interpreted liberally and taken to include not only games but such activities as climbing over wagons or running about the streets.

TABLE VIII.
WHAT CHILDREN WERE DOING OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL.

	Sounding I.		Sounding II.		Sounding III.		Av. % for Total of 1,419 Children and Young People Seen.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Working	76	10	106	23	82	15	19%
Playing	149	36	131	28	163	30	31%
Doing nothing	190	45	226	49	296	55	50%
	415	100%	463	100%	541	100%	

**Danger of
Doing Nothing** The most striking thing with regard to these 1,419 children was the large percentage who were doing nothing; in fact one out of every two, or more than one and one-half times as many as were playing. In view of the educational value of active games, and the dulling effect of listlessly doing nothing, there is evidently here an enormous education waste. Mischief, which is technically called in the courts "juvenile delinquency," and lack of initiative, which is called in the schools "dull stupidity," are the sure result of doing nothing. It would appear that a large percentage of Milwaukee children are not only losing important educational possibilities, but are also developing many traits which must be educated out of them if they are to become useful citizens.

**Reports of
School Children** The pupils of one of the high schools and of the 7th and 8th grades throughout the district schools of the city were asked to write for 15 or 20 minutes on what they did with their spare time.

The following instructions were given:

“The chief object in these brief papers by the pupils is not to display literary form, grammar, or penmanship, but to learn the truth about what the pupils do outside of school. The essays need not be signed if this will make the pupils write more freely. It should be explained to the pupils that papers will not be read by their own teachers but will be used in planning for better chances for boys and girls of the city to play and have a good time. Kindly ask them to be definite. If they say ‘I went to a show,’ tell what show. If they say ‘I played,’ tell what they played and where. Each paper should be marked with School—Grade—Age of pupil and whether pupil is boy or girl.

“What did you do last Saturday and Sunday, day time and evening?

“What did you do for fun outside of school hours?

“How did you spend your spare time last week?”

An average of a little over twenty-five papers was selected from each district keeping the number of papers from boys and girls approximately the same. The papers from each district were selected at random from the total number of papers handed in by that district, the purpose being to avoid in this way the selection of any special papers, owing to the arrangement of the children in their seats or to the arrangement of papers as to grammar or penmanship. Careful study was then made of 777 papers so selected from the South Division High School and from twenty-seven district schools. From each paper was recorded the activities spoken of both as recreation and work. Table IX summarizes the total number of papers mentioning each form of amusement, and also the percentage of the total number of children mentioning each form of amusement.

TABLE IX.
ACTIVITIES REPORTED BY SCHOOL CHILDREN.

	No. Children Mentioning.	% Total No. Children, i. e., 777.
1 Outdoor games and sports.....	491	63.2
2 Walking on street, shopping, watching games.	332	42.7
3 Reading	458	58.9
4 Home games	290	37.3
5 Fancy work, music, etc.....	284	36.5
6 Calling on friends, talking.....	385	49.4
7 Shows and indoor roller skating.....	513	66.2
8 Indoor sports, gymnasium, swimming.....	68	8.7
9 Home work, chores, errands, etc.....	533	68.8
10 Outside work, office, store, carrying papers, street lamp lighting	133	17.1

From the study of these papers the following facts appear with regard to a typical group of Milwaukee children so selected as to avoid distortion by any unusual conditions. So-called "shows" are mentioned most frequently as a form of amusement. These are mostly moving picture shows. Outdoor games, mostly on streets and vacant lots, occupy the time of the boys more than of girls, who rely more on walking on the streets and visiting their friends. Home recreation takes chiefly the form of reading; home games occupying a comparatively small place. Indoor gymnasia did not reach a large number at the time papers were written (November, 1911). Girls seem to have less variety of wholesome recreation than boys.

Many pages of this report could be occupied with significant quotations from these papers, but only a few which show facts should be remembered, will be given. One of the first things which impresses any one who reads a typical group of these papers is the fact that the children in Milwaukee as in other cities can not get the play which is perfectly wholesome and normal for them to have without being guilty of a misdemeanor. The policeman, as the one who stops play and who has to be looked out for, is frequently mentioned in these papers. It is, of course, not the fault of the policeman that he has to enforce the ordinances made necessary by the crowded conditions of city life. One boy wrote: "We have one drawback; whenever we want to have a game of baseball or football, there is always the cop." Another boy wrote: "Then, (7:30 P. M.) I go out on the street and meet some more boys and stay there

**Avoiding the
Policeman**

till the police comes along and tells us to move. Then we go to the nickel show and spend the evening there." Another wrote: "The only places we have to play on is the road and the churchyard——and there we get chased." Another boy wrote: "I do not spend much of my time in playing because if we play football or shinney on the road the police officer gets after us and no different place to play. And to walk to —— it is of no use going for it is quite far and when we go there we get our things stolen from the big boys." Another boy who had the beginnings of the gang instinct wrote: "We stand on the corner and play puzze-puzze corner and then when the nipper comes he chases us. And if a fella gets fresh to us the whole bunch lands on him." Another group of boys who had the advantage of the use of part of one of the smaller parks of the city was represented by one of their number who wrote: "The Park Commissioner said we could play football on a part of the park, but the grounds are too small——there are a large number of boys who would like to play along, but there is not enough room——and we do not like to go on another part of the park because the Park Commissioner will chase us away."

**Girls Have Less
Varied Recreation
Than Boys**

The next most notable thing from a study of these papers is the fact that the girls, at least those these papers, who wrote seem to have less to do for recreation than the boys. Most of them speak of helping with the housework at home but after that is done their chief form of amusement seems to be reading or walking with their friends. As one girl put it: "To go down town and rubber at the styles." It will be noticed in going over the dozen or more quotations here given that a majority of them are from boys. This was not due to the fact that more papers by boys were read than papers by girls, but is due to the fact that the boys' papers are usually more striking and interesting. This does not, however, show that the boys need to have more provisions made for their play than do the girls. The very fact that the girls' papers are less interesting because they have less to write about and the very humdrum nature of the life indicated by many of the girls' papers would rather emphasize the fact of their need of supervised recreation.

Nickel Shows

The place of the nickel show brought out by the summary is emphasized by many of the papers. Thus one girl who goes much of the time with her parents wrote: "I spend most of my evenings at the nickel shows." Another, who gave a not unusual program for Saturday afternoon and evening, wrote: "In the afternoon I went to the ——— theater and to the ——— and it was about 5 o'clock as I came home. I ate supper and went to the theater." One youngster expressed his idea of a good show, saying: "They had a very fine performance of a cowboy and an Indian maid." These quotations are not unusual but typical.

Use of Surrounding Country

The desire to get back to the old primitive activities of the race appear in many of the boys' papers. They speak of making out-of-door ovens when they can get away into the outskirts of the city; of cooking out-of-doors; or strolling into the country and killing rabbits with sharp sticks; of plastering a side hill cave with clay. These papers would suggest that the organization of activities like this could turn them from haphazard delights of a few children into the regular educative pleasures of many.

Gangs

Mention has already been made in connection with one of the above quotations of the gang instinct. It was gratifying to find that in the case of some boys this was being organized and used in the form of clubs, either by churches or other private organizations. In many cases, however, it was not so organized, and the club was merely a gang of the boys' own making. As one of them wrote: "Then I went over in the coal yard and carved my initial in the club house." While the Board of School Directors could hardly encourage young people of the city carving their initials in school buildings, school recreation centers could use the club instinct and furnish some other place of meeting than a shanty in the coal yard. Another boy puts his hint with delightful naiveté: "but I like to play basket ball in the evening if we had a hall."

Reports of School Principals

An inquiry was addressed to the principals of the various district schools with regard to the principal's own knowledge and belief

as to the opportunities for home recreation of the majority of their pupils. Of the fifty-one principals who answered this question, twenty-two said that the majority of their pupils had poor opportunities for home recreation; twelve said that these home opportunities were fair; seventeen that these opportunities were good. Further consultation with the principals is necessary to learn whether they applied the terms "fair" and "good" to the homes or to the recreational facilities therein. Many children living in flats or small houses, with little or no yard space, have poor opportunities for home recreation, despite the fact that their homes are good homes.

QUALITY OF RECREATION

No description of the forms of recreation is successful unless it makes possible a judgment upon the quality of recreation. Recreation is not mere busy work. Busy work may be valuable as a preventive of worse uses of spare time, but in organizing recreation a prime consideration is its constructive value.

Standards of Judging Quality of Recreation

There are three standards for judging the quality of recreation. First, is the purely recreative standard. Does the given form of recreation make the persons using it more or less fit for their regular life work? A second standard is the educational standard for both physical and mental education. Does the given form of recreation, while perhaps not sought directly for physical development, bring that development along with the pleasure obtained? On the side of mental development, does the given form of recreation build up habits of quick thinking, of initiative in dealing with new situations, of self control, of ability to work with others in the give and take of group activities? Third, and most important, is the moral standard. Does the given form of recreation make it easier or harder for those who engage in it to live a clean, courageous and generous life?

Application of These Standards

Judgment of each of the forms of recreation already described is here omitted, but two or three essential facts must be noted. Judged by the moral standard much of the

outdoor play of Milwaukee children is harmful because the children have constantly to avoid the police. Many of the school children wrote of the necessity of avoiding the police while trying to play football, baseball, shinney, and other games. This was no fault of the police who had to enforce regulations for the proper use of the streets. But this fear, probably vigilance would be the better term, on the part of the children toward the officers of the law has a genuinely harmful effect on the children in breaking down in their minds the distinction between that which is forbidden because it is really wrong and that which is forbidden because it is inconvenient under the peculiar conditions of city life.

On applying the educational standard to the moving picture shows one is impressed with the educational opportunity which is going to waste. History, geography, literature and many forms of natural science can be illustrated by well selected films. The ideals of life shown by the heroes of moving picture dramas are quickly caught and imitated by the young patrons. Most of these educational possibilities are at present either misused or unsued.

In regard to all forms of theatrical amusement, one virtue and one defect should be noted. Their recreative value for a person tired out is high, chiefly because they make no demand on the spectator. It is a passive form of amusement. This very virtue contains the chief defect. The best elements in character are not developed passively, but through self-activity, no opportunity for which is furnished by a theatrical form of amusement.

Judgments upon the quality of recreation furnished by the dancing, pool, bowling and billiard facilities of the city are based not on the form of amusement itself but upon the surroundings usually attending them. The recreative value of all of them may be high and the educational and moral value fair. As a matter of fact, since the young people frequently can not find these forms of amusement in decent surroundings the recreative value is often low, the educative and moral value lacking, and the general influence vicious.

PART II—DISCUSSION

PURPOSE OF A RECREATION SYSTEM

To Reduce Delinquency

Milwaukee, like many American cities, is feeling in a dozen different ways the congestion which every growing city experiences. One of the effects of this congestion is to reduce the amount of play space out-of-doors for children; to make the cost of land so great that the houses are necessarily small and poorly adapted to home recreation. Many boys and girls are brought before the juvenile courts for misdemeanors which have grown directly out of the play spirit thwarted or misdirected. Thousands more, who never are brought into the juvenile court, form habits of evasion and of clandestine amusement of a poor type.

To Develop Character

A really valuable recreation system attempts constructive educational work, not in the way of direct instruction, but in the way of habit formation. It is a genuine waste to employ an expensive force of teachers to work with the children and young people of the city for five hours each school day, and then have these same young people, on account of the waste or harmful use of their spare time, form such habits of character that this expensive education is not turned into channels of real value both to the individual and the community.

To Make Life Worth Living

No community is genuinely a good dwelling place unless its people have a chance "to earn a life as well as a living." Thus a recreation system takes its place beside other efforts to improve conditions of life in a city the size of Milwaukee. It comes in response to a growing realization that people need not only wholesome water, milk, food, houses, but also wholesome opportunities to spend their spare time, the time which is really their own.

A COMPREHENSIVE RECREATION SYSTEM FOR MILWAUKEE

It is with a good deal of hesitation that the subject of a comprehensive plan for recreation in Milwaukee is approached.

If a far look is taken into the future an investigator lays himself open to the criticism of dreaming impossible dreams. But the next steps can be taken more intelligently if there is some idea of what the city may be ultimately seeking. Several cities which have already spent large sums on recreation are waking up to the fact that much has been wasted because they have used a patchwork method rather than a system. Since one of the purposes of this investigation was to suggest such a comprehensive outline, it is presented, but it must be realized that the plan cannot be completely carried out for some time.

**Playgrounds for
Younger Children**

For children under ten years certain cities are aiming to secure a play space within five minutes' walk of the home of every such child, and this is a good working rule. The study by Philadelphia authorities of certain playgrounds in that city, 98% of the attendance at which is fourteen years of age or under, showed that 74% of this attendance was from homes within three blocks of such playgrounds for younger children. In short, the radius of efficiency of such playgrounds for younger children is from one-quarter to one-half mile. This is due to the fact that most parents do not wish their young children to go far from home.

**Play Fields for
Older Children and
Young People**

For children over ten and young people over sixteen years there would be in such a comprehensive system a larger play field within twenty minutes' walk of their homes. If their play were confined to Saturdays and Sundays they could go even a greater distance, but some provision has to be made for the out-of-door sports of such young people in the short space of time out of school or after working hours. Some attempt would also be made to organize the out-of-door instincts by leading long walks into the surrounding country on Saturdays and Sundays.

**Indoor
Recreation
Centers**

Such a comprehensive system would seek to provide indoor recreation centers for both young and old. These could be arranged in connection with the larger play fields and would be as numerous as those fields. In planning for these

centers it is better to use the neighborhood as the standard rather than a standard of one center to so many thousand people or one center within each circle of given radius. By such a standard a city should seek to have a social center within the reach of every group of people who had no other neighborhood meeting place.

Recreation Facilities Not Under Public Control

Such a system comprehends not only those forms directly under the control of various city departments, such as those mentioned in preceding paragraphs, but also those forms under the control of other agencies, commercial or philanthropic. By influencing commercial forms of recreation and co-operating with private agencies, the public recreation system may mould the development of the recreational life of the community as a whole. The city can do much through public facilities; it never can do all in providing recreation for its citizens.

SUPERVISION

The prime essential in any recreation work is adequate, well trained, and efficient leadership. There may be an imposing scheme on paper and a running system with an inventory of equipment and buildings showing thousands of dollars worth of property and still the system be ineffective and wasteful. There are cities where the buildings are inferior and the equipment very moderate, but where, owing to the quality and enthusiasm of the directors, a very high grade of work is being done. It is a safe rule to spend twice as much on supervision as on any special form of equipment.

Force Necessary

A general supervisor is needed to take general oversight of the entire recreational work. Each indoor recreation center during the winter and each playground during the summer should have a director and an assistant director. It has been usually found most helpful to have one of these positions for each center and playground occupied by a man who looks out for the work for the boys and young men, and the other position occupied by a woman who looks out for for the recreation of the

girls and young women. The same directors and assistant directors who are used in the recreation centers in the winter can be used in the playgrounds in the summer. Thus if an all year round position is furnished, a better grade of service can be obtained. To such a director and assistant director in each recreation center or playground should be added from one to four part time helpers, i. e., men or women who give assistance for single sessions for particular clubs or forms of work in the center, or for certain hours during the summer. The employment of these two classes of workers gives the advantage, first, in the all the year workers of a nucleus of people who know constantly and intimately the neighborhoods in which they work; and second, the advantage, in the use of part time helpers, of securing adequate assistance at an expense for only such time as such additional assistance is necessary.

TABLE X.
SALARIES PAID IN VARIOUS CITIES FOR DIFFERENT GRADES OF
SUPERVISION OF RECREATION.

	Supervisor.	Director Playground or Recreation Center.	Assistant Director.	Extra Helper Summer Playgrounds.	Extra Helpers by Day or Session.
Chicago—					
South Park.....	\$3,000 to \$4,200 yr.	\$125 mo.	\$80 to \$110 mo.	\$75 mo.	
Lincoln Park.....	\$1,800 to \$2,400 yr.	\$75 to \$125 mo.	\$80 to \$110 mo.		
Special Park.....	\$2,000 yr. (1)	\$85 to \$100 mo.		\$60 to \$80 mo.	
Baltimore—					
Public Athletic League	\$1,500 yr. (2)	\$60 to \$75 mo.	\$40 to \$60 mo.		
Playground Assn..		\$50 to \$60 mo. (4)	\$40 to \$45 mo.		\$1.50 to \$2
Buffalo	\$1,500 yr. (3)	\$85 mo.	\$65 mo.		
St. Louis.....		\$75 mo.	\$45 mo. (5)		
New York City...		\$4 session	\$1.75-\$2.50 session		
Newark		\$85 mo.		\$50 to \$70 mo.	
Pittsburgh		\$150 mo.		\$80 to \$90 mo.	\$1.70 to \$3 (7)
Philadelphia				\$45-\$47.50 mo. (6)	\$1 to \$2

(1) Additional administrative expense—Secretary \$1,800 yr., Stenographer \$840 yr.

(2) Additional administrative expense—Director \$3,500 yr., Stenographer and office boy \$1,050, Medical Director \$2,000.

(3) Additional administrative expense—Secretary \$1,500.

(4) Six hours per day.

(5) Four hours per day.

(6) Half day.

(7) Substitutes.

Cost of Supervision

Table X shows what other cities are paying for different grades of service as far as reports were available at time of writing. To get complete cost of system, aside for from outlays for land and buildings and permanent equipment, the expense of janitor service and supplies must be added to figures for supervision.

School Teachers as Recreation Directors

Experience has shown that school teachers are often very useful as part time helpers who give one or two evenings or afternoons per week to such work, or who may, in the case of especially strong physique, work during the summer on the playgrounds, but that it is impossible for regular teachers to do the work of a director or assistant director adequately while also employed in school work. If school teachers attempt to do both their regular work and put in a considerable part of each week in such playground and recreation center activities, either their regular school work will suffer or their recreation center and playground work will be neglected, or their health will break down. It should also be remembered that certain teachers who are excellent drill masters and from whom nothing more could be asked in improving the quality of instruction which they give, are entirely unfit for winning the sympathy of children and young people, of getting that close and intimate acquaintance with them which is essential for real play leadership.

CO-OPERATION OF VARIOUS CITY DEPARTMENTS IN A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM

Milwaukee is already doing something for the recreation life of her citizens; the problem comes as to how to correlate these various efforts and how to build any future work on these foundations. In short, the problem is to use the present facilities under the control of the city up to their limit, to provide adequately for the recreation of its present population, and to plan for its inevitable future growth in population.

First Steps in Co-operation

No one board can provide an adequate recreation system for Milwaukee, but through the co-operation of several boards such a system is possible. The Park Board is already conducting a certain number of playgrounds without very much supervision. The

School Board is planning to provide supervision for a certain number of playgrounds under its own control. Certain cities have been able to work out a method of co-operation between these two boards where in certain places the sites and apparatus are furnished by the Park Board and supervision is furnished by the School Board.

A branch library adds greatly to the usefulness of a recreation center. In turn such a center can house a branch library at a considerable saving in rent to the Library Board. Furthermore, the introduction of story telling into the recreation centers, either by experienced story tellers employed by the Library Board, or by the directors of the recreation centers, following the suggestions of the Library Board's workers, extends the usefulness both of the library and of the recreation centers.

In two or three cases in Milwaukee a natatorium is already placed near a playground. Such location of the natatorium makes it equally valuable to the rest of the community and adds much to the effectiveness of the playground. The location of the new natatorium in the Third Ward or the possible location of a new natatorium near Lapham Park are cases in point.

Street Play

Reference has already been made in the first part of this report to the large amount of street space in different parts of the city. Between thirty and forty per cent of the ground space in each of the sections specially surveyed was so occupied by streets and alleys. Over half of these streets are used only for delivery traffic. This delivering is largely done during school hours. By reserving streets here and there in such a way as not to block the traffic, the city could at once provide play spaces without the immediate expenditure of large sums of money for new sites for playgrounds. Such action would not be revolutionary, because it would be merely extending to other seasons of the year the plan already in use of reserving certain streets for coasting in the winter. With proper supervision such games as volley ball, basket ball, indoor baseball and many ring games and running games could be played on such reserved streets. For such use of the streets there would be needed the co-operation of the property owners along the

street, of the Department of Public Works, of the Police Department in enforcing the reservation of such streets—although after the first three or four months, during which time the public will have become used to it, such reservation would enforce itself almost automatically—and the co-operation of whatever board furnishes the supervision. This last would most naturally be the School Board if it carries out its plans of having some supervisory force for its own recreation center and playground work.

**The Recreation
System and the
City Plan**

The City Planning Commission has in mind certain recreation centers in connection with the neighborhood centers it has outlined. While the City Planning Commission works out the location of these recreation centers along the line of its general plan for the city, the actual supervision and maintenance of such centers would fall to the control of some other board. The care of the physical property and equipment might fall to the Park Board, the supervision to the School Board, following the plan already suggested. Duplication in the provision of sites and equipment could be avoided by adopting some working basis such as this: The Park Board or whatever administrative body has charge of the recreation centers provided by the City Planning Commission's outline could control the larger play spaces needed for the older children and young people, and the recreation centers in connection therewith; the School Board, on the other hand, which already possesses a number of grounds well located throughout the city, could control the playgrounds for the smaller children who require a larger number of grounds, but do not require so much space in any one ground. Since there are many preliminary steps to be taken there is little danger that any work which the School Board may do the next few years in the way of recreation centers in its school buildings will duplicate the work of any other body.

A JOINT ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON RECREATION

The next problem of practical importance is how to secure this co-operation which is essential to the securing of a comprehensive system. One method is through a Recreation Commission. Such a commission has certain distinct advantages. One of the chief of these is that it is a single board

with one special problem, and hence likely to give that special problem its exclusive attention. On the other hand, it has a distinct disadvantage in that it is likely to come in conflict with other administrative boards which are in charge of their own important problems and hence cautious in allowing a Recreation Commission to do things which may interfere with the regular work delegated to such boards.

On account of the questions in regard to the legality of such a Recreation Commission here in Milwaukee under the present charter, and on account of the legislation of last spring, the formation of a Recreation Commission would be distinctly inadvisable at the present time at least. Hence the question arises whether it is not possible to secure much of the object set before such a commission in another way. For this purpose the gradual growth of a joint advisory committee made up of representatives of the various city departments which do work affecting recreation is suggested. Such a joint advisory committee would be similar to a recreation commission in that its purpose would be to secure team work between the different departments affecting recreation. This is the chief purpose of a Recreation Commission. Such a joint advisory committee would be different from a Recreation Commission in that each department would still retain complete control over whatever work is already delegated to it.

It will be noticed that the word "growth" is used in regard to such a committee. Whether this committee shall gradually come into being owing to real administrative needs or whether it shall be immediately formed depends upon conditions. If the immediate formation of such a committee will immediately secure the team work desired, such immediate formation is desirable. It seems probable, however, that the most successful joint committee will be the result of growth. By growth is not meant any vague and indefinite process to take place some time when nobody knows anything about it, but a development in response to felt needs and recognized problems. First stages in this growth as affecting the summer playgrounds and school recreation centers in 1912 would take place very soon.

REGULATING AND INFLUENCING COMMERCIAL RECREATION

In regard to commercial recreation, it should be remembered

that recreation is not necessarily bad because it is given on a commercial basis. Those who furnish commercial recreation are simply meeting a normal demand, just as house builders and grocers are meeting a normal demand. On the other hand, this does not mean that such commercial recreations should not be regulated. There are housing laws and regulations to prevent the sale of unwholesome food products. There is no reason why there should not also be attempts to prevent the sale of unwholesome recreation.

**Subjects of
Regulation and
Influence**

The question now arises what form this regulation should take. For clearness two words, regulation and influence, are used.

By regulation is meant direct effect by ordinances and the action of administrative officers. By influence is meant that indirect control through conference with owners of commercial recreation facilities, or, if necessary, competition with them. In general it may be said that direct regulation can be turned best toward certain external features. The ventilation, the number of fire exits, the cleanliness of theaters and moving picture shows are items of such direct regulation. The relation of dance halls to saloons and to hotels and rooming houses are other features for such direct regulation. The quality of entertainment can best be subject to indirect influence.

**Influence by
Conference**

Influence through conference is possible in the case of moving picture shows. The owners of many of these houses probably would be willing to allow a representative of the proper city board, perhaps of the Board of School Directors, to select the pictures and songs on certain evenings of the week. The owners of these houses have no malign intention in the selection of their pictures. They are simply anxious to get the pictures which will be popular. The fact that these pictures have improved greatly within the last few years and that the manufacturers have voluntarily submitted to a form of censorship of their films, shows the fact that the exhibitors appreciate the business advantage of running a type of performance which does not offend the taste or the moral feeling of the large common element in the population. This same business instinct of the exhibitors can be used by showing them the advertising value

of the fact that the pictures on given days of the week are those selected by some well recognized body of citizens.

**Influence
Through
Competition**

Influence through competition is possible in the case of dance halls. Young people do not dance in poorly lighted halls, where the surroundings are unattractive and where the form of entertainment is in the hands of those who are not seeking the best interests of their patrons, because they like them, but because they can secure nothing better for the money they have or because they know of no better form of entertainment. The same can be said of pool playing under certain conditions and of certain social clubs. Give a decent, well regulated dance or series of dances in a school house or recreation building, have games such as pool and billiards and facilities for clean, wholesome club life under the supervision of an older person who understands young people, and in no very long time the better form of entertainment will win through its own attractiveness.

**CO-OPERATING WITH PHILANTHOPIC ORGANIZATIONS
FURNISHING RECREATION**

There are many enterprises of a philanthropic character in Milwaukee which furnish a certain amount of recreation, such as settlements, boys' clubs, churches, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and other similar organizations. With nearly 400,000 people in Milwaukee, with 150,000 to 200,000 children and young people in the city, the work of any private organization furnishing a good type of recreation should be welcomed. Co-operation with such organizations can take two forms, withholding competition and loaning facilities where this is practicable.

**Withholding
Competition**

As a means of helping rather than harmfully competing with such organizations, one of the tasks of any of the administrative bodies of the city which try to secure a comprehensive development of the recreational life of the city would be to complete, by local workers, a survey of such private organizations, the amount and quality of recreation which they furnish, and the number and ages of the people whom they reach. In any extensions of the recreational work regard would be had for these outside forces. If any neighborhood is being adequately

supplied by them, extensions would naturally first go to other neighborhoods not so supplied.

Loaning Facilities

Many cities find that the recreational facilities under the control of the city government are a distinct help to the work of such private organizations. Buffalo furnishes from its regular force in the employ of the City Recreation Commission gymnasium leaders for private organizations who have halls, but are unable to furnish leadership. Chicago frequently loans the halls of its recreation centers to private clubs who wish the halls for holding entertainments, open meetings, bazaars, etc. In certain cities private citizens or groups of people give or loan vacant lots and the city, through the proper board, furnishes the supervision. The job in Milwaukee is big enough to require all the efforts of the city's administrative departments and all the help which can be obtained from private sources.

TABLE II.
PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE BETWEEN 4
AND 19 YEARS OF AGE IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF
MILWAUKEE BY WARDS, 1910 AND 1911.

Ward	No. between 4-19 years June, 1911	Per cent above or of Ward, from 4-19 years whole city, i.e. 31%	
		Per cent of total population below average % for	
1....	1,836	19	12—
2....	1,702	17	14—
3....	1,110	15	16—
4....	1,336	12	19—
5....	2,247	22	9—
6....	4,087	28	3—
7....	752	10	21—
8....	2,744	25	6—
9....	5,616	30	1—
10....	6,131	32	1+
11....	11,259	37	6+
12....	4,017	29	2—
13....	6,657	32	1+
14....	16,105	49	18+
15....	4,271	24	7—
16....	3,441	23	8—
17....	5,465	34	3+
18....	5,946	30	1—
19....	4,648	32	1+
20....	9,825	36	5+
21....	8,255	39	8+
22....	6,133	32	1+
23....	3,150	25	6—
Total	116,733		

Note: Ward lines are those in force in 1910.

TABLE III.
OUTDOOR PLAY SPACE.

Sounding I, bounded by Vliet, Twelfth, Walnut and Seventeenth Streets, in Ward 9.

Sounding II, bounded by Maple Street, First, Greenfield and Sixth Avenues, Ward 11.

Sounding III, bounded by Lincoln and Eighth Avenues, Midland and Cleveland Streets, Ward 14.

	Sounding I.		Sounding II.		Sounding III.	
	Acres.	%	Acres.	%	Acres.	%
General Distribution of Land.						
Streets and alleys.....	25.34	37	35.5	35	30.3	34
Other land	41.49	63	65	65	57.2	66
Total	66.83	100	100.5	100	87.5	100
Distribution of Land Not Streets or Alleys.						
Public play space.....	.73	1.8	0.	0.	.9	1.6
Privately owned, usable for play41	1.	.58	.9	1.77	3.1
Privately owned, needs grading to be usable for play	0.	0.	.14	.2	7.34	12.8
Lawn, play not allowed.			2.01	3.1	.52	.9
Occupied by gardens, storage yards, etc...	40.35	97.2	3.95	6.1	7.88	13.8
Occupied by houses and interspaces less than 25x25 feet			58.32	89.7	38.79	67.8
Total	41.49	100	65	100	57.20	100
Traffic Use of Streets and Alleys.						
Heavy traffic dangerous for play	7.98	31	8.6	24	3.4	11
Delivery traffic, intermittent play possible	17.36	69	26.9	76	26.9	89
Total	25.34	100	35.5	100	30.3	100
Number Children and Young People						
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
4 to 10 years.....	646	47.5	655	46	1,021	52
11 to 15 years.....	375	27.5	403	28	549	28
16 to 19 years.....	338	25	377	26	387	20
Total, 4 to 19 years...	1,359	100	1,435	100	1,957	100
Adequacy of Outdoor Play Space.						
Number who can play on usable public and private play space (reckoning 300 playing per acre).....	342	34	174	16	801	51
Number who must play in streets, alleys, out of district, or not play	679	66	884	84	769	49
Total children, 4 to 15 years	1,021	100	1,058	100	1,570	100

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